

|               |                |               |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| Burton        | Hall (OH)      | Meehan        |
| Buyer         | Hall (TX)      | Meek (FL)     |
| Callahan      | Hamilton       | Meeks (NY)    |
| Calvert       | Hansen         | Menendez      |
| Camp          | Harman         | Metcalfe      |
| Campbell      | Hastert        | Mica          |
| Canady        | Hastings (FL)  | Millender-    |
| Cannon        | Hastings (WA)  | McDonald      |
| Capps         | Hayworth       | Miller (CA)   |
| Cardin        | Hefley         | Miller (FL)   |
| Carson        | Herger         | Minge         |
| Castle        | Hill           | Mink          |
| Chabot        | Hilleary       | Moakley       |
| Chambliss     | Hilliard       | Mollohan      |
| Chenoweth     | Hinchey        | Moran (KS)    |
| Christensen   | Hinojosa       | Moran (VA)    |
| Clay          | Hoekstra       | Morella       |
| Clayton       | Holden         | Murtha        |
| Clement       | Hooley         | Myrick        |
| Clyburn       | Horn           | Nadler        |
| Coble         | Hostettler     | Neal          |
| Coburn        | Houghton       | Nethercutt    |
| Collins       | Hoyer          | Neumann       |
| Combest       | Hulshof        | Ney           |
| Condit        | Hunter         | Northup       |
| Conyers       | Hutchinson     | Norwood       |
| Cook          | Hyde           | Nussle        |
| Cooksey       | Istook         | Oberstar      |
| Costello      | Jackson (IL)   | Obey          |
| Cox           | Jackson-Lee    | Olver         |
| Coyne         | (TX)           | Ortiz         |
| Cramer        | Jefferson      | Owens         |
| Crapo         | Jenkins        | Oxley         |
| Cubin         | John           | Packard       |
| Cummings      | Johnson (CT)   | Pallone       |
| Cunningham    | Johnson (WI)   | Pappas        |
| Danner        | Johnson, E. B. | Pascarell     |
| Davis (FL)    | Johnson, Sam   | Pastor        |
| Davis (VA)    | Jones          | Paxon         |
| Deal          | Kanjorski      | Payne         |
| DeFazio       | Kaptur         | Pease         |
| DeGette       | Kasich         | Pelosi        |
| Delahunt      | Kelly          | Peterson (MN) |
| DeLauro       | Kennedy (MA)   | Peterson (PA) |
| DeLay         | Kennedy (RI)   | Petri         |
| Deutsch       | Kennelly       | Pickering     |
| Diaz-Balart   | Kildee         | Pickett       |
| Dicks         | Kilpatrick     | Pitts         |
| Dingell       | Kim            | Pombo         |
| Dixon         | Kind (WI)      | Pomeroy       |
| Doggett       | King (NY)      | Porter        |
| Dooley        | Kingston       | Portman       |
| Doyle         | Klecza         | Price (NC)    |
| Dreier        | Klink          | Pryce (OH)    |
| Duncan        | Klug           | Quinn         |
| Dunn          | Knollenberg    | Radanovich    |
| Edwards       | Kolbe          | Rahall        |
| Ehlers        | Kucinich       | Ramstad       |
| Ehrlich       | LaFalce        | Rangel        |
| Emerson       | LaHood         | Redmond       |
| Engel         | Lampson        | Regula        |
| English       | Lantos         | Reyes         |
| Ensign        | Largent        | Riggs         |
| Eshoo         | Latham         | Riley         |
| Etheridge     | LaTourette     | Rivers        |
| Evans         | Lazio          | Rodriguez     |
| Everett       | Leach          | Roemer        |
| Ewing         | Levin          | Rogan         |
| Farr          | Lewis (CA)     | Rogers        |
| Fattah        | Lewis (GA)     | Rohrabacher   |
| Fazio         | Lewis (KY)     | Ros-Lehtinen  |
| Filner        | Linder         | Rothman       |
| Foley         | Livingston     | Roukema       |
| Forbes        | LoBiondo       | Royal-Allard  |
| Ford          | Lofgren        | Royce         |
| Fossella      | Lowe           | Rush          |
| Fowler        | Lucas          | Ryun          |
| Fox           | Luther         | Sabo          |
| Frank (MA)    | Maloney (CT)   | Salmon        |
| Franks (NJ)   | Maloney (NY)   | Sanchez       |
| Frelinghuysen | Manton         | Sanders       |
| Frost         | Manzullo       | Sandlin       |
| Furse         | Markey         | Sanford       |
| Gallegly      | Mascara        | Sawyer        |
| Ganske        | Matsui         | Saxton        |
| Gejdenson     | McCarthy (MO)  | Schaefer, Dan |
| Gibbons       | McCarthy (NY)  | Schaffer, Bob |
| Gilchrest     | McCollum       | Schumer       |
| Gillmor       | McCrery        | Scott         |
| Gilman        | McDermott      | Sensenbrenner |
| Goode         | McGovern       | Serrano       |
| Goodlatte     | McHale         | Sessions      |
| Goodling      | McHugh         | Shadegg       |
| Gordon        | McInnis        | Shaw          |
| Goss          | McIntosh       | Shays         |
| Granger       | McIntyre       | Sherman       |
| Green         | McKeon         | Shimkus       |
| Greenwood     | McKinney       | Shuster       |
| Gutknecht     | McNulty        | Siskiy        |

|              |             |             |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Skaggs       | Stump       | Walsh       |
| Skeen        | Sununu      | Wamp        |
| Skelton      | Talent      | Waters      |
| Slaughter    | Tanner      | Watkins     |
| Smith (MI)   | Tauscher    | Watt (NC)   |
| Smith (NJ)   | Tauzin      | Watts (OK)  |
| Smith (OR)   | Taylor (MS) | Waxman      |
| Smith (TX)   | Taylor (NC) | Weldon (FL) |
| Smith, Adam  | Thomas      | Weldon (PA) |
| Smith, Linda | Thompson    | Weller      |
| Snowbarger   | Thornberry  | Wexler      |
| Snyder       | Thune       | Weygand     |
| Solomon      | Thurman     | White       |
| Souder       | Tiahrt      | Whitfield   |
| Spence       | Tierney     | Wicker      |
| Spratt       | Torres      | Wise        |
| Stabenow     | Towns       | Wolf        |
| Stark        | Trafigant   | Woolsey     |
| Stearns      | Upton       | Wynn        |
| Stenholm     | Velazquez   | Yates       |
| Stokes       | Vento       | Young (AK)  |
| Strickland   | Visclosky   | Young (FL)  |

NAYS—1

Paul

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Barr

NOT VOTING—23

|            |           |             |
|------------|-----------|-------------|
| Bilbray    | Gonzalez  | McDade      |
| Crane      | Graham    | Parker      |
| Davis (IL) | Gutierrez | Poshard     |
| Dickey     | Hefner    | Scarborough |
| Doolittle  | Hobson    | Schiff      |
| Fawell     | Inglis    | Stupak      |
| Gekas      | Lipinski  | Turner      |
| Gephardt   | Martinez  |             |

□ 1149

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, on roll call no. 57, I was inadvertently detained and missed the vote. Had I been present, I would have voted "Yes".

#### DIRECTING THE PRESIDENT TO REMOVE U.S. ARMED FORCES FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, March 12, 1998, I call up the concurrent resolution (H.Con.Res. 227) directing the President pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. McINNIS). The concurrent resolution is considered read for amendment.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 227 is as follows:

H. CON. RES. 227

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),*

#### SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds the following:

(1) The Congress has the sole power to declare war under article I, section 8, of the Constitution.

(2) A state of war has not been declared to exist with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(3) A specific authorization for the use of United States Armed Forces with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been enacted.

(4) The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes, within the meaning of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1543(a)(1)), either hostilities or a situation where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances into which United States Armed Forces have been introduced.

(b) REMOVAL OF ARMED FORCES.—Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by June 30, 1998 (unless the President requests and the Congress authorizes a later date), except for a limited number of members of the Armed Forces sufficient only to protect United States diplomatic facilities and citizens, and noncombatant personnel to advise the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Commander in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and unless and until a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted.

(c) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—The requirement to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under subsection (b) does not necessarily reflect any disagreement with the purposes or accomplishments of such Armed Forces, nor does it constitute any judgment of how the Congress would vote, if given the opportunity to do so, on either a declaration of war or a specific authorization for the use of such Armed Forces.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, March 12, 1998, amendment No. 1 printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day is adopted.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 227, as modified, is as follows:

H. CON. RES. 227

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),*

#### SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds the following:

(1) The Congress has the sole power to declare war under article I, section 8, of the Constitution.

(2) A state of war has not been declared to exist with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(3) A specific authorization for the use of United States Armed Forces with respect to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been enacted.

(4) The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes, within the meaning of section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1543(a)(1)), either hostilities or a situation where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances into which United States Armed Forces have been introduced.

(b) REMOVAL OF ARMED FORCES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)), the Congress hereby directs the President to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina not later than 60 days after the date on which a final judgment is entered by a court of competent jurisdiction determining the constitutional validity of this con-

current resolution, unless a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted.

(2) EXCEPTION.—The requirement to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to—

(A) a limited number of members of the Armed Forces sufficient only to protect United States diplomatic facilities and citizens; or

(B) noncombatant personnel to advise the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Commander in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(c) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—The requirement to remove United States Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under subsection (b) does not necessarily reflect any disagreement with the purposes or accomplishments of such Armed Forces, nor does it constitute any judgment of how the Congress would vote, if given the opportunity to do so, on either a declaration of war or a specific authorization for the use of such Armed Forces.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL) will control 60 minutes and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution of the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL). Although I understand and am sympathetic to the gentleman's efforts to assert the prerogatives concerning the war-making authority vested in the Congress by the U.S. Constitution, I believe for reasons of both policy and procedure that this measure is not the manner in which we should endeavor to uphold those prerogatives. On policy grounds, this resolution would send an untimely signal that this House no longer supports the Dayton peace agreement for Bosnia, an agreement that is now just showing signs of succeeding.

In the past few months, we have seen the glimmerings of success in regenerating a stable civil society in all of Bosnia. War criminals are voluntarily turning themselves in, and there is a new, more moderate government of the Bosnian Serbs that actually wants to cooperate with implementing the peace plan. Restructuring and reforming of the police in both the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Republic of Srpska is proceeding. Moreover we have expended in excess of \$7 billion to implement our peace plan in Bosnia. Withdrawal at this stage would place that considerable investment at risk, with no guarantee that we would not be called upon in the future to once again introduce our forces if the conflict reignites.

On procedural grounds, far from restoring congressional authority to declare war, this resolution would take the authority and place it in the hands